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PSC 335.01: Foreign Policy

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American Foreign Policy (PSC 335)

MWF 11:10-12:00 p.m., Charles H Clapp Building 423, Fall 2007

Professor Eric H. Hines

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Office Hours: MWF 10:10-11:00 and 3:10-4:00, or by appointment

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Course RSS Feed: <http://feeds.erichines.com/umafp>

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Having enjoyed a position of power and prestige in international politics for over a century, America's relationship with the world is a complex one that demands careful analysis. The course will address a series of basic questions about how the United States pursues its interests abroad: (1) What are and what should be the major goals of American foreign policy (AFP)? (2) What factors are the most important in determining the goals and content of American foreign policy and who makes those decisions? (3) Were past policies well-designed to achieve those goals and are current policies likely to help the United States achieve its foreign policy goals? (4) Could past policies have been modified or current policies changed to increase their chances for successfully achieving American foreign policy goals? (5) Are there foreign policy goals that are overlooked, avoided, or under-emphasized by American foreign policy makers?

COURSE OBJECTIVES AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this course, students will be able to:

- Identify and articulate the underlying values informing the actions of American foreign policy makers.
- Compile and compare explanations for American foreign policy.
- Evaluate competing ethical and moral claims about how American foreign policy should be conducted.
- Defend held ethical commitments about how American foreign policy should be conducted.

PREREQUISITES

To enroll in this course, you must be at least a junior and have taken PSC 130E (International Relations).

TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER REQUIRED MATERIALS

All required texts for this class are on electronic reserve at the Mansfield Library (password: psc335) with two exceptions. The following text is available for purchase at the University Bookstore:

Colon, Ernie, and Sid Jacobson. *The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation* (New York: Hill And Wang, 2006).

Later in the semester students will also need to purchase a custom casebook from <http://www.guisd.org>.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The Case Method and Active Participation in Class

Because active participation facilitates learning, this course is designed to maximize student involvement. In lieu of using a dry textbook to explore AFP, this course frequently utilizes the case method. A case is a story that recounts — as objectively and meticulously as possible — real events or problems so that students experience the complexities, ambiguities, and uncertainties confronted by the original participants in the case. As they “inhabit” a case, students must tease out key components from the real messiness of contradictory and complicated information. Using a variety of in-class exercises like role-playing and discussion, students will find their own answers to the underlying questions. The standard of success in this class is whether you are able to make connections between seemingly unrelated materials you had previously not perceived and you are able to explain some of these connections to others.

Knowledge of Current Events

Students are required to keep-up with developments in U.S. foreign policy in either the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. Every class will begin with a discussion of major developments in foreign affairs that affects U.S. foreign policy. I also recommend that students read the coverage of U.S. foreign policy in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Policy Memorandums

You will be expected to write a one-page policy memorandum on each of the cases examined during the course. Memos will be due one week from the end of the case. In the memos, you are expected to assess the key issues at stake in the case, and to propose an appropriate course of action to address the issues as you see them. More specific guidelines for the memos will be given at the of each case. All written assignments will be submitted via Blackboard (<http://courseware.umt.edu>).

Group Project

Students will also participate in one group project during the term in the form of either a class debate or a student-led discussion. The class will be divided into groups of four and each group will be assigned to lead either a debate or discussion. The groups will be responsible for assigning appropriate readings to the class and preparing a two-page handout summarizing the issues involved in the debate or discussion.

Preparedness

Students have a responsibility to themselves, the instructor, and each other to come to class prepared. Being prepared for class includes having read all assigned readings before class and completing all assignments by the deadline given by the instructor. It also includes the more abstract requirement that students come to class ready to learn. Being prepared will also ensure that all requirements are completed within time-limit of the course. University policy on incomplete grades will be adhered to strictly.

COURSE POLICIES

Academic Misconduct Policy

The University requires that this statement be placed on all syllabi at the University of Montana:

All students must practice academic honesty. Academic misconduct is subject to an academic penalty by the course instructor and/or a disciplinary sanction by the University.

All students need to be familiar with the Student Conduct Code. The Code is available for review online at: <http://ordway.umt.edu/SA/VPSA/index.cfm/name/StudentConductCode>.

Statement On Disabilities:

I strongly encourage students with documented disabilities to discuss appropriate accommodations with me that might be helpful to them. However, I am not qualified to make an assessment of your need for an accommodation or what accommodations are needed. If you have a disability and feel you need accommodations, you must present a letter to me from Disability Services for Students (DSS), Lommasson Center 154 (243-2243), indicating the existence of a disability and the suggested accommodations.

Course Communications

I will communicate with you by email and by posting announcements to the course website (<http://afp.erichines.com>), which also has an RSS feed (<http://feeds.erichines.com/umafp>). To ensure that you receive my emails, you must either check your UM email account on a daily basis or have email from there forwarded to an account that you do check daily. It is now University policy that all electronic communication with students must be sent to their official university account. This includes replies to emails from non-university addresses.

Non-Competitive Grading

Grading in this class is non-competitive. Your grade is determined by the total number of points you have at the end of the semester, regardless of the points of other students. There is no "curve." You should therefore feel free to help each other learn, study, and succeed since grading is not a "zero-sum game."

Grading

Grades are based on participation (30%), memos (30%), group project (10%), midterm (15%), and final exam (15%).

A plus/minus grading system will be used based on the following scale:

93-100 A	90-93 A-	87-90 B+	83-87 B	80-83 B-	77-80 C+
73-77 C	70-73 C-	67-70 D+	63-67 D	60-63 D-	0-60 F

COURSE ORGANIZATION AND SCHEDULE

I reserve the right to make changes to this schedule. All changes will be announced in class and/or posted on-line.

Prologue

August 27: Introduction to Course and Distribution of Syllabus

Week 1: How America sees itself: Is America Exceptional ? (August 29-31)

No Class

Due to my attendance of the American Political Science Association Conference in Chicago, class will not meet Wednesday or Friday. Instead, you are responsible for completing two writing assignments that you will submit via Blackboard. The first assignment involves comparing coverage of U.S. foreign policy in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. The second assignment involves reading the following article and writing a short essay/memo reflecting on the article and answering the questions: Does the United States face a moral dilemma when conducting its foreign policy? If yes, what is the source of this dilemma and what can be done about it? If no, why not?

Reading:

Walzer, Michael. "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2.2 (Winter 1973): 160-180.

Sept. 3: *Labor Day*

No Class

Introduction

Week 2: How to Think (Not What to Think) about American Foreign Policy (Sept. 5-7)

This week we examine two different frameworks for understanding foreign policy formulation and analysis in order to provide a foundation on which to build our analysis in subsequent weeks. We will also discuss psychological models of decision-making, and motivated and unmotivated biases in how we process information.

Readings:

Chittick, William O. and Lee Ann Pingel. "An Inclusive Framework for Foreign Policy Analysis." In *American Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2006: 1-35.

Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization*, 42.3 (Summer, 1988): 427-460.

Also read the handout "Misperception and Foreign Policy Decision-making" available on e-res.

Part I: Contemporary Foreign Policy

Week 3: Community Policies (Sept. 10-14)

This week we examine how Americans define the community in which they live and the effect this has on AFP. Communitarians draw distinctions between themselves and others, especially between citizens and aliens. Cosmopolitans emphasize the similarities between themselves and foreigners. Both visions affect AFP.

Case: "The Kyoto Protocol: The Domestic and International Politics of Climate Change"

Sept 17: **LAST DAY TO DROP CLASSES ON CYBERBEAR**

Week 4: Security Policies (Sept. 17-21)

This week we examine two different views towards conflict Americans traditionally hold: realism and idealism. Security policies are usually motivated by fear and security goals are usually determined by threat perception, but security policy and goals are also shaped by these two views. Realism assumes that providing security in a competitive system depends on America's ability to confront other actors. Idealism assumes that providing security requires accommodating the differences that cause insecurity.

Case: “The United States and North Korea: Avoiding a Worst-Case Scenario”

Student-led Discussion #1 (Sept. 28): Have the U.S.’s intelligence services become politicized?

Week 5: Economic Policies (Sept. 24-27)

This week we examine how America deals with economic competition from foreign countries. Americans generally focus on growth for growth’s sake or modest growth tempered by an emphasis on equality.

Case: “U.S. Steel Import Tariffs: The Politics of Global Markets”

Debate #2 (Sept. 27): Should the United States support agricultural trade liberalization?

Week 6: What should America’s Foreign Policy Goals Be? (Oct. 1-5)

This week we compare the broad national security strategies of the U.S. under Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush to try to decipher the differences between these two presidents’ approaches to foreign policy and determine what America’s foreign policy goals ought to be. We will read two versions of the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, a document prepared periodically by the executive branch for congress which outlines major national security concerns and how the administration plans to deal with them.

Readings:

Bush, George W. The national security strategy of the United States of America. Washington, D.C.: National Security Council, 2002.

Clinton, William. A National Security Strategy for a New Century. Washington, D.C.: National Security Council, 1998.

Debate #3 (Oct. 5): Should the United States Seek Global Hegemony?

Oct 8: **MIDTERM (LAST DAY TO DROP CLASSES WITHOUT PETITION)**

Part II: The Foreign Policy Making Process

Week 7: Actors inside and Outside Government (Oct. 10-12)

This week we discuss different actors involved in the foreign policy making process and review the different approaches to explaining foreign policy associated with these different actors. This discussion is designed to give you the organizational context of AFP. Students should also finish reading The 9/11 Report for this week. We will be using it as a second case study throughout Part II of the course.

Chittick, William O. “The Actors Inside and Outside Government” In *American Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2006: 281-309.

Colon, Ernie, and Sid Jacobson. *The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation* (New York: Hill And Wang, 2006).

Week 8: Institutionalism: Congress and the Executive (Oct. 15-19)

This week we examine the fundamental rules for making foreign policy in the United States found in the U.S. Constitution. These rules govern the relationship between the President and the Congress.

Case 263: *Inside the Water's Edge: The Senate Votes on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty* (Deibel, Terry L.)

Debate #4 (Oct. 26): Should Congress Give a President Fast-Track Trade Authority?

Week 9: Organizational Behavior: The Foreign Affairs Bureaucracy (Oct. 22-26)

This week we examine the influence of organizational behavior in the foreign affairs bureaucracy on AFP. Bureaucracies are formed when specialists are organized and coordinated to preform tasks more efficiently then they could be done otherwise. The U.S. has a vast foreign affairs bureaucracy made up of over 65 departments and agencies tasked with performing a number of missions including intelligence gathering.

Readings:

Fessenden, Helen. “The Limits of Intelligence Reform” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005

David J. Rothkopf, "Inside the Committee that Runs the World," *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2005 (9 pp).

Rose Gottemoeller, "Bureaucratic Balkanization: The Need for a Functioning Interagency Process," CNS Occasional Paper #6 (May 2001), 31-33.

Debate #5 (Oct. 26): Did the creation of the Homeland Security Department improve homeland security?

Week 10: Governmental Politics Model: The President and his Advisors (Oct. 29-Nov. 2)

This week we examine the influence of the individuals who represent the various departments and agencies of the foreign affairs bureaucracy.

Case 334: The Cuban Missile Crisis: U.S. Deliberations and Negotiations at the Edge of the Precipice

Debate #6 (Nov. 2): Is terrorism really the biggest threat to the United States?

Week 11: Majoritarianism: Political Culture and Public Opinion (Nov. 5-Nov. 9)

This week we examine the extent to which AFP is determined by the views of American voters.

Readings

Mueller, John. "The Iraq Syndrome" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec. 2005):

Gelpi, Christopher and John Mueller. "The Cost of War" *Foreign Affairs* (Jan./Feb. 2006):

Student-led Discussion #7 (Nov. 9): What should the United States do about the War in Iraq?

Nov. 12: Veterans Day

No Class

Weeks 12 & 13: Pluralism: Organized Pressure Groups (Nov. 14-19)

This week we examine how organized groups can have an impact on foreign policy disproportionate to their size because of their willingness to out one issue above others.

Readings:

Mearsheimer, John J. and Walt, Stephen M., "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy" (March 2006). KSG Working Paper No. RWP06-011 Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=891198>

Student-led Discussion #8 (Nov. 9): Do organized pressure groups have too much say in U.S. foreign policy?

Nov. 21-23: Thanksgiving Break

No Class

Week 14: Elitism: Policy-planning and the Media (Nov. 26-30)

This week we examine whether individual elites, often those in the media or the upper social class, have an influence on the direction of AFP.

Case 374: Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Intervention Policy

Recommended Reading:

Powers, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide." *Atlantic Monthly* 288.2 (Sept., 2001): 84-108.

Debate #9 (Sept 21): Should the United States conduct humanitarian interventions?

Conclusion

Week 15: American Foreign Policy in the Post-9/11 world (Dec. 3-7)

In this final week, we bring together our discussions of what went wrong with AFP on Sept. 11, 2001 to explore what the tragic events of that day mean for the United States.

Case: *The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation*

Student-led Discussion #10 (Dec. 7): What can the United States do to avoid another 9/11?

Dec. 11: **FINAL EXAM 8:00 A.M.**

Sample Case Map

Stakeholders/Actors		Constraints			Current Situation
Who?	What's their position?	Options	Benefits (+)	Costs (-)	What is their current situation?